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No. 29, 1959/60

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Outline of Reference Paper On:

SOVIET POLICY FOR THE SUMMIT

It has become evident from recent Soviet pronouncements that the regime intends to utilize the forthcoming summit talks to propagandize its peaceful intentions and to achieve solutions to the German problem which it considers favorable.

It is currently concentrating on the discrediting of the West Germans and Chancellor Adenauer in the eyes of the world by emphasizing the "German menace" and the dangers of neo-Fascism.

The Soviet approach to the overall German problem envisages the creation of a German confederation in which Western Germany is theoretically guaranteed its social structure, occupation forces are gradually removed and the use of atomic weapons is renounced by both German states following the signing of a peace treaty.

Although vacillating on the question of a peace treaty and the future of Berlin, the Soviet leaders are nevertheless striving to make progress in the matter of disarming Germany, seeking at best the complete disarmament of Germany, at worst the renunciation of rockets and atomic weapons by West Germany. For this reason, the latter topic has been entirely isolated from the overall problem of disarmament. In supplementing this with a world-wide campaign to discredit the Federal Republic, the Kremlin envisages a first and major step aimed at the ultimate destruction of the defense potential of the Western world.

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Official Soviet statements and the recent East German "Peoples' Plan For the Solution of the German Question" indicate that it has been decided to direct the forthcoming summit talks in Paris to two definite and closely allied ends: high-level propaganda aimed at finally convincing world opinion of the peaceful intentions of Soviet foreign policy, and concentrating on certain aspects of the German problem to achieve solutions favorable to Soviet policy. The organ of the Communist world movement, however, indicates that these aims are merely preparatory steps in the decisive victory over capitalism.

Preliminary propaganda has been directed at the discrediting of the West Germans and Adenauer himself in the eyes of the world. Clever use has also been made of anti-Semitic incidents, some of which may well have been provoked for this very purpose. Khrushchev's speeches in France marked the peak of his exploitation of the "German menace." The final stages of this campaign have been directed toward labeling Bonn as the chief obstacle to any relaxation of international tension at the summit talks.

Chancellor Adenauer is held personally responsible for this situation in one article:

.... By means of a plebiscite in West Berlin, the West German Chancellor is striving to deprive the Western Powers in advance of the freedom to discuss and settle this important problem..... a dead weight on his Western allies (Pravda, April 17, 1960).

(more)

In another newspaper account it is claimed that neo-Fascism is rife in West Germany:

The present West German state is a country in which the phantom of Fascism is once again raising its head... The course of political development in Western Germany calls for the unremitting vigilance of the peace-loving powers. Hitler is dead but militarism and Fascism live on in Western Germany.... (Izvestia, April 12, 1960).

At the same time, threats are also levelled at the Western allies:

.... Should the other powers concerned fail to conclude a German peace treaty and continue to heed Chancellor Adenauer rather than be guided by the interests of peace and the need to relax tension in Europe, the Soviet Union will have no alternative but to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic (Pravda, April 17, 1960).

The latter move would involve the complete transfer of authority over West Berlin which is regarded as an integral part of the so-called "German Democratic People's Republic."

The Soviet approach to the overall German problem was most recently developed in the "Peoples' Plan for the Solution of the German Question," published in the East German press and radio in the form of an open letter to the West German workers. The main points of this plan were summarized as follows by the Soviet press:

a) Relations between the Federal Republic and The German Democratic Republic, and future unification, can be based on "a national compromise acceptable not only to the workers of Western Germany and The German Democratic Republic, but also to other classes and strata of the population including even the West German bourgeoisie (Pravda, April 19, 1960).

b) The West Berlin question can be temporarily settled by the gradual reduction of armed forces there and the gradual removal of the occupation regime. (Ibid.)

c) A peace treaty can be drawn up in such a way that "... those of the anti-Hitler coalition who wish to do so may sign it with the German Democratic Republic, while other parties may conclude a peace treaty with West Germany (Ibid.)

(more)

d) Both German states must renounce atomic weapons and the creation of rocket bases. On this question there should be a national referendum throughout Germany. (Ibid.)

The political key to overall Soviet proposals on Germany is contained in the following stipulations under the terms of a "national compromise." The creation of a German confederation is envisaged in which Western Germany is theoretically guaranteed its social structure. A compromise solution is proposed for both the question of a peace treaty and that of West Berlin: proposed renunciation of atomic weapons is clearly an attempt to isolate this problem, which is of especial significance to the Soviet Union, from the overall talks on complete and universal disarmament.

This plan clearly bears the stamp of Soviet policy, since the first three proposals hardly enhance the prestige of the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign Communist state. Evidently it has been agreed that in the settlement of the German problem Khrushchev will retain his freedom to offer concessions of various kinds in keeping with changing circumstances.

Although vacillating on the question of a peace treaty and the future of Berlin, the Soviet leaders are nevertheless striving to make progress in the matter of disarming Germany, seeking at best the complete disarmament of Germany, at worst the renunciation of rockets and atomic weapons by West Germany. For this reason the latter topic has been entirely isolated from the overall problem of disarmament. In supplementing this with a world-wide campaign to discredit the Federal Republic, the Kremlin envisages a first and major step aimed at the ultimate destruction of the defense potential of the Western world.

There are of course other political considerations which have prompted the Soviet leaders to move nearer to a settlement of some of the problems connected with Germany.

Although universal disarmament would be economically beneficial to the Soviet Union, it is doubtful whether any such program will progress beyond the stage of fine words. Practical implementation will always be prevented by the refusal of the Soviet Union itself to agree to an effective system of control. For this reason Khrushchev apparently intends to pay lip service to the dove of peace by stressing the need to save the world from German revanchism and by agreeing to compromise on the Berlin question. It is not improbable that in Paris Khrushchev will resurrect some proposal for the creation of a collective security system in Europe, with provision for a peace zone.

(more)

Another likely intention of the Soviet leader is to utilize the Paris conference to proclaim to the world the peace-making mission of Soviet foreign policy. This will be achieved primarily by speeches by Khrushchev on total universal disarmament, intended not only for consumption in the free world but also to create a favorable impression in the Soviet Union itself. Confirmation of this probability is to be found in press and public references to Khrushchev as a peacemaker:

... His indefatigable work in the service of peace is regarded the world over as a most important contribution towards the improvement of the international situation and the relaxing of the international climate (Pravda, April 12, 1960).

This line is, however, modified by other diametrically opposed trends. In the April issue of Problemy Mira i Sotsializma, Problems of Peace and Socialism, the organ of the world Communist movement, published in nineteen languages, O. Kuvsinen, the key member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in matters concerning the development of the world Communist movement, reassured the Communist parties about current Soviet moves. He asserted that the policy of defending peace, national independence and sovereignty, and the campaign against colonialism and German revanchism was nothing more than a preliminary phase of the struggle against capitalism and the eventual decisive victory of socialism and Communism. He stated that "... successes and victories in the struggle for political democracy create more favorable political conditions for the campaign against capitalism, weaken the reactionary bourgeoisie and unite the popular masses against the ruling capitalist clorder". He further emphasized that they instill directly in the masses an understanding of the meaning of power and of those who mold the reins of state.

Thus, while on the one hand, the peacemaking mission of the Soviet Union will be proclaimed at the summit conference, on the other hand Communist parties throughout the world will exploit the natural aspirations of peoples as a prelude to the mobilization and organization of forces for the final battle in the world-wide struggle against the capitalist order.

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